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Message Text

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73
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

MBFR-04 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 OIC-04 CU-04 H-03 NSC-10 SS-15

OMB-01 DRC-01 /154 W
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R 191945Z SEP 73
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1648
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
US MISSION GENEVA 1368

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4408

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: CSCE: POLADS REVIEW OF ALLIED POSITION ON CONFIDENCE
BUILDING MEASURES (CBM'S)

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: A) STATE 184991
B) MCM 55-73 OF SEPTEMBER 10 (POUCHED)
C) USNATO 3964 AND 4303
D) STATE 184994

SUMMARY: POLADS MAINTAINED OPPOSITION TO U.S. PROPOSAL
TO DROP MILITARY MOVEMENTS FROM CSCE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING
MEASURE ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION, ALTHOUGH UK BELIEVED OPEN ALLIED
SPLIT IN GENEVA COULD BE AVOIDED IF APPROPRIATE TACTICS
DESIGNED, AND PROMISED WRITTEN PROPOSAL TO THIS EFFECT.
FRG REP READ NEW INSTRUCTIONS FROM BONN PROPOSING ADDITIONAL
CRITERIA FOR ILLUSTRATIVE LISTS, BUT LEFT IT UNCLEAR WHETHER
NEW CRITERIA WERE INTENDED FOR INTERNAL ALLIED USE
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OR FOR DISCUSSION WITH OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS. POLADS
ALSO DISCUSSED QUESTIONS POSED BY CANADIAN ILLUSTRATIVE LIST AND
MILITARY COMMITTEE COMMENTS ON CBM'S, AND AGREED TO ACT ON
PROPOSALS FOR REFINEMENTS IN BASIC ALLIED PAPER

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(POLADS (73)14) AT NEXT MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 25. CHAIRMAN IN MEANTIME WILL ISSUE DRAFT COVER NOTE REFLECTING U.S. AND OTHER ALLIED VIEWS ON INCLUSION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN PROPOSED CBM, TOGETHER WITH CHECKLIST OF PROPOSED CHANGES IN POLADS (73)14, BOTH OF WHICH WILL BE CABLED ON RECEIPT. END SUMMARY

1. CHAIRMAN RECALLED THAT U.S. VIEW ON MOVEMENTS HAD SPARKED UNRESOLVED CONTROVERSY, AND PROPOSED THAT POLADS SHOULD ALSO DISCUSS CANADIAN, FRG, AND BELGIAN CONTRIBUTIONS ON CBM'S. FIRST PRIORITY SHOULD BE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON POLADS(73)14 OF MAY 17. THE NEUTRALS IN GENEVA COULD BE EXPECTED TO BRING UP CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AT AN EARLY STAGE IN CSCE, AND ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED WITH A COMMON POSITION. MOST POLADS AT RECENT MEETINGS HAD OPPOSED U.S. PROPOSAL TO EXCLUDE MILITARY MOVEMENTS FROM CBM ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION. WERE THERE ANY CHANGES?

2. CANADIAN REP REPORTED THAT SUSLOV IN RECENT VISIT TO OTTAWA HAD ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE THE IDEA OF ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS IN "WELL-SPECIFIED AREAS," BUT REITERATED THAT SOVIETS WOULD FIRMLY OPPOSE ANY MEASURES APPLYING TO MILITARY MOVEMENTS. CANADIANS, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT ALLIES SHOULD FOR TACTICAL REASONS PURSUE MEASURES APPLYING TO MOVEMENTS AS WELL AS MANEUVERS.

3. ALL DELEGATIONS PRESENT EXCEPT U.S PROCEEDED TO REPEAT THEIR EXPLICIT VIEW THAT ALLIES SHOULD STICK WITH MILITARY MOVEMENTS. BELGIAN REP ARGUED THAT LIMITATIONS ON MOVEMENTS WOULD BE NECESSARY TO REASSURE NEUTRALS WHO WERE NOT REPRESENTED IN VIENNA. FRENCH REP TOOK SAME LINE, POINTING OUT THAT FRANCE WAS ALSO ABSTAINING FROM MBFR. FRG REP SAID BONN HAD STUDIED U.S. TALKING POINTS FROM SEPTEMBER 11 MEETING, AND HAD NOT BEEN CONVINCED BY U.S. ARGUMENT THAT DEALING WITH MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN CSCE WOULD GIVE SOVIETS SUFFICIENT PRETEXT TO AVOID SUBJECT IN MBFR. ON THE CONTRARY, CSCE DISCUSSIONS WOULD ALLOW ALLIES TO TEST SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT VOLUNTARY CONSTRAINTS. IF THESE WERE REJECTED, SOVIETS WOULD NOT BE CONFIDENTIAL

LIKELY TO ACCEPT BINDING CONSTRAINTS IN MBFR. MOREOVER, FRG SEES DISCUSSION OF MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY AT CSCE AS A FIRST STEP IN "PHASED PROCESS" LEADING TOWARDS REDUCTIONS. UK REP ADDED THAT ALLIES WOULD LOSE CREDIBILITY IF THEY ABANDONED POINT IN GENEVA THAT THEY HAD DEFENDED STAUNCHLY IN HELSINKI. IN VIEW OF NORWEGIAN REP, LACK OF CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN MOVEMENTS AND MANEUVERS MEANT THAT EXCLUSION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS WOULD DEFEAT PURPOSE OF PROPOSED CBM. NORWEGIANS ARE NOT CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE RESTRAINTS ON MILITARY FLEXIBILITY, SINCE IN OSLO'S VIEW CBMS WOULD CEASE TO BE OBSERVED IN A CRISIS SITUATION. (CHAIRMAN ASKED ABOUT POSSIBLE NORWEGIAN PAPER ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION. NORWEGIAN REP SAID PAPER WAS NOT IN FINAL FORM, BUT WOULD PROBABLY BE CIRCULATED SHORTLY IN GENEVA

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AND NATO.)

4. U.S. REP RECOMMENDED FOOTNOTE SOLUTION AS AUTHORIZED REF A SINCE RESOLUTION OF IMPASSE BY POLADS DID NOT SEEM LIKELY. CANADIAN REP SUGGESTED INSTEAD THAT NEW PARA BE ADDED TO PAPER EXPLAINING U.S. POINT OF VIEW AND AT SAME TIME GIVING RATIONALE FOR OPPOSING VIEWS OF OTHERS. BELGIAN REP MADE REFERENCE TO MCM 55-73, OF SEPTEMBER 10 POINTING TO "COMPLEX PROBLEMS" IN ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MOVEMENTS, WHICH COULD BE "DISADVANTAGEOUS" IN SOME AREAS AND CIRCUMSTANCES. HE REQUESTED CLARIFICATION. MC REP REPLIED THAT THIS COMPROMISE LANGUAGE WAS RESULT OF DIVERGENT NATIONAL VIEWS SIMILAR TO THOSE EVIDENT IN POLADS, AND OTHERS OBSERVED THAT MC UNLIKELY TO BE ABLE TO RESOLVE ISSUE.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

MBFR-04 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 OIC-04 CU-04 H-03 NSC-10 SS-15

OMB-01 DRC-01 /154 W
---------- 023436
R 191945Z SEP 73
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1649
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INFO USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
US MISSIO
GENEVA 1369

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 4408

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARAS 6. AND 7.)

5. AS RESULT, MOST POLADS SUPPORTED CANADIAN SUGGESTION THAT VIEWS OF BOTH U.S. AND OTHERSEHOULD BE REFLECTED IN ANY REVISION OF THE ILLUSTRATIVE LISTS PAPER, AND CHAIRMAN VOLUNTEERED TO DRAFT COVER NOTE, WHICH WILL BE CIRCULATED LATER THIS WEEK. MC CLARIFICATION WOULD ALSO BE REQUESTED IN PARALLEL WITH CONTINUING POLADS ACTION.

6. UK REP AGREED THAT COVER NOTE SHOULD GIVE ALTERNATIVE VIEWS ON ISSUE, BUT THOUGHT ALLIES MIGHT AVOID AN OPEN BREAK IN GENEVA IF APPROPRIATE TACTICS WERE USED. AT LEAST AT OUTSET OF

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DISCUSSION OF CBMS, ALLIES IN UK VIEW COULD MAINTAIN HELSINKI
POSITION, AND CHALLENGE SOVIETS TO DEFINE MOVEMENTS IF THEY
WISHED TO EXCLUDE THEM. UK OR ANOTHER ALLY COULD CARRY BALL ON
THIS POINT, AND U.S. IF IT SO CHOSE COULD STAY SILENT.
CHAIRMAN FOUND VALUE IN UK SUGGESTION, AND ASKED UK REP TO SUBMIT
IT IN WRITING FOR POSSIBLE INCLUSION AFTER PARA 6 OF
POLADS(73)14.
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7. CHAIRMAN ASKED IF THERE WERE OTHER REVISIONS OR REFINEMENTS
TO POLADS(73)14 THAT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN TEXT TO BE SUBMITTED
TO SPC. FOR INSTANCE, COULD FRENCH RESERVATION IN FOOTNOTE
ON FIRST PAGE BE REMOVED, BEARING IN MIND STRONG FRENCH SUPPORT
FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS? FRENCH REP DECLINED TO
REMOVE RESERVATION ON GROUNDS THAT PAPER WAS NOT SUFFICIENTLY
COMPREHENSIVE.

8. WITH REGARD TO BRACKETED LANGUAGE IN PARA 7, CHAIRMAN ASKED
IF MC RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR A CONSENSUS
TEXT. U.S. AND OTHERS RESERVED. CHAIRMAN ASKED POLADS TO SEEK
INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS POINT FOR NEXT WEEK. UK REP SAID MC
LANGUAGE WAS ACCEPTABLE, ON UNDERSTANDING THAT NAVAL AND AIR
COMPLEMENTS WOULD BE INCLUDED IN ADVANCE NOTIFICATION ONLY WHEN
PART OF COMBINED EXERCISES INVOLVING GROUND FORCE COMPLEMENTS
IN EXCESS OF ONE DIVISION,OR IN THE CASE OF THE NORTHERN
REGION, IN EXCESS OF ONE BRIGADE.

9. CHAIRMAN PROPOSED TO ADD TO PARA 9 OF POLADS(73)14 THE
SENTENCE RECOMMENDED BY MC (PARA 5 OF REF B), ON UNDERSTANDING
THAT FINAL DECISION WOULD BE MADE NEXT WEEK.

10. TURNING TO ISSUES POSED BY CANADA (REF C), CHAIRMAN ASKED
POLADS VIEWS ON INCLUSION IN ILLUSTRATIVE LISTS OF EXERCISES
IN NORTHERN CANADA AND ON DEFINITION OF "MAJOR" EXERCISES.
ON FIRST ISSUE, U.S. REP DREW ON REF D. FRG AND
ITALY THOUGHT THAT SOME GENERAL CRITERIA LIMITING CBM AREA TO
EUROPE WERE NECESSARY, BUT UK REP TOOK LINE THAT
GEOGRAPHIC AREA TO BE OFFERED BY NATO WOULD DEPEND ONLY ON EXTENT
OF SOVIET TERRITORY COVERED BY CBM'S.

11. ON SECOND CANADIAN QUESTION, FRG HAD NEW INSTRUCTIONS
INDICATING BONN WILLINGNESS TO ANNOUNCE IN ADVANCE ALL THE
MANEUVERS BY UNITS "CAPABLE OF INDEPENDENT COMBAT ACTIVITIES,"
WHICH IN SOME CASES MIGHT APPLY TO EXERCISES AS SMALL AS
BRIGADE-SIZE. FRG REP DID NOT MAKE CLEAR WHETHER BONN WAS
REFINING CRITERION FOR "MAJOR EXERCISE" MERELY FOR INTERNAL
ALLIED GUIDANCE FOR DRAFTING OF ILLUSTRATIVE LISTS, OR
WHETHER CURRENT BONN VIEW FAVORS DISCUSSION OF THIS CRITERIA
AT CSCE. FRG REP ADDED THAT "REASON" FOR MOVEMENTS OR MANEUVERS
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SHOULD BE ADDED TO INFORMATION IN ILLUSTRATIVE LISTS. CHAIRMAN ASKED FRG REP TO REVIEW INSTRUCTIONS TO SEE WHETHER REVISIONS OF POLAD(73)14 WERE ESSENTIAL. COMMENT: AN FRG DECISION TO PRESS FOR OPEN CSCE DISCUSSION OF CRITERIA FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION WOULD UNDERMINE BASIC APPROACH IN ILLUSTRATIVE LISTS PAPER, AND CHAIRMAN TOLD US HIS MOTIVE IN ASKING FRG REP TO REVIEW INSTRUCTIONS WAS TO PRECLUDE A NEW SPLIT AMONG ALLIES ON THIS QUESTION. END COMMENT

12. REVIEWING PROCEDURE FOR FORTHCOMING WEEK, CHAIRMAN PROMISED TO ISSUE DRAFT COVER NOTE COVERING MOVEMENTS ISSUE AND CHECKLIST OF POINTS FOR CHANGES IN TEXT OF POLAD(73)14, AND RECALLED UK UNDERTAKING TO CIRCULATE ADDITIONAL PARA ON TACTICS. IN VIEW OF URGENCY OF FINDING ALLIED CONSENSUS TO FORWARD TO NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA, HE PROPOSED THAT POLADS TAKE FINAL ACTION ON PAPER AT SEPTEMBER 25 MEETING, AFTER WHICH PAPER WILL BE FORWARDED TO SPC AND ULTIMATELY NAC. WE WILL SUBMIT CHAIRMAN'S NOTE ON RECEIPT AND WILL NEED GUIDANCE ON IT FOR SEPTEMBER 25 POLADS.
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